

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

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AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

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AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PINT DA

SUBJ: PRIME MINISTER ON COOPERATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS:
BEWARE BUT....

REF: COPENHAGEN 0230 (NOTAL)

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INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY: IN HIS FIRST PUBLIC STATEMENT ON COOPERATION WITH THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES SINCE THE HELSINGOR CONFERENCE, PRIME MINISTER ANKER JORGENSEN WROTE A PIECE WHICH APPEARED IN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC DAILY, AKTUELT, ON JANUARY 25. THE SUBSTANCE OF JORGENSEN'S REMARKS IS FAMILIAR: THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN EUROPE IS DIFFERENT FROM NORTHERN EUROPE. IN THE LATTER, COOPERATION WITH THE ORTHODOX COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THOSE LANDS IS IMPOSSIBLE. ALTHOUGH JORGENSEN IS SKEPTICAL OF THE BONA FIDES OF THE SOUTHERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES, THEY JUST MAY BE DIFFERENT FROM THEIR NORTHERN SISTERS, AND IT IS UP TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IN EACH COUNTRY TO ASSESS THEIR INDIVIDUAL SITUATIONS. HE ACKNOWLEDGES DIFFICULTIES THE U.S. PUBLIC WOULD HAVE WITH COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT OF A NATO COUNTRY. HE STATES ONCE AGAIN THAT THE BEST DEFENSE AGAINST COMMUNISM, HOWEVER, IS (SOCIAL) DEMOCRATIC SOCIAL AND HUMANISTIC VALUES.

BECAUSE OF THE SECRETARY'S RECENT VISIT TO COPENHAGEN - WHICH IS REFERRED TO BY JORGENSEN - AND THE COMPREHENSIVE NATURE OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT, IT IS TRANSMITTED VIRTUALLY IN ITS ENTIRETY. MATERIAL IN PARENTHESES IS OUR PARAPHRASE OF THE OTHERWISE AWKWARD LITERAL TRANSLATION.
END SUMMARY.

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BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED.

1. HEADLINES: "ANKER JORGENSEN ANALYZES POSSIBILITIES OF COOPERATION AMONG SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND COMMUNISTS: EXPERIENCES OVER DECADES HAVE MADE US SKEPTICAL TOWARDS THE COMMUNISTS"

2. BEGIN TEXT

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"IMPORTANT CENTRAL ISSUES FOR EUROPE WERE DISCUSSED AMONG EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AT THE MEETING IN HELSINGOR LAST WEEKEND (SIC). WE DISCUSSED THE ATTITUDE OF OUR PARTIES TOWARDS UNEMPLOYMENT, INFLATION, THE THIRD WORLD AND THE NEW ECONOMIC WORLD ORDER DEMANDED BY THE POOR COUNTRIES. WE DISCUSSED HOW WE CAN INCREASE OUR SUPPORT FOR THE BROTHER PARTIES IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN IN ORDER TO ASSIST DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENTS. WE ALSO EXPRESSED READI-

NESS TO BUILD CONTACTS WITH PARTIES WHICH ARE NOT MEMBERES OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL BUT WHICH ARE DEMOCRATIC AND IDEOLOGICALLY CLOSE TO SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC IDEAS. THIS, AMONG OTHERS, APPLIES TO PARTIES IN VENEZUELA, MEXICO, TURKEY, TANZANIA, ETC.

"FINALLY, WE DISCUSSED RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST PARTIES IN EUROPE. THERE WAS AGREEMENT ABOUT THE BASIC ATTITUDE TOWARD THE COMMUNISTS. ALL EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES CLEARLY REJECT THE DOGMATIC COMMUNIST PARTIES WHICH MORE OR LESS OPENLY FLIRT WITH THE IDEA OF PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND SHICH ARE ONLY DEMOCRATIC WHEN THEY CAN EXPLOIT DEMOCRACY FOR TACTICAL PURPOSES. EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES CANNOT COOPERATE WITH SUCH PARTIES. BUT THE QUESTION IS WHETHER SOME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES ARE DEPARTING FROM THE OLD-FASHIONED DOGMATIC LINE. EXPERIENCES OF DECADES WITH THE COMMUNISTS HAVE TAUGHT US TO BE EXTREMELY SKEPTICA AND CAUTIOUS IN TRUSTING COMMUNISTS DISGUISED IN DEMOCRATIC CLOTHES. I ESPECIALLY REMEMBER THEIR METHODS IN LABOR UNIONS IN THE FIRST POST-WAR YEARS.

"BUT WE CANNOT COMPLETELY DENY TODAY THAT THERE IS A DIFFERENCE AMONG THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF WESTERN EUROPE. FOR THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN THE NORDIC AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, THE SITUATION IS CLEAR. THE COMMUNISTS IN THESE COUNTRIES ARE THE SAME AS ALWAYS, STILL JUST AS ORTHODOX AND THEREFORE JUST AS IMPOSSIBLE AS REAL PARTNERS IN COOPERATION. BUT THE SITUATION IS DIFFERENT IN SOUTHERN EUROPE, IN ITALY AND FRANCE, PERHAPS ALSO IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN. BUT WE DO NOT KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT THIS YET.

"IN ITALY AND FRANCE, THE COMMUNIST PARTIES HAVE FOR A LONG TIME BEEN RELATIVELY LARGE. THEY HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO MAINTAIN A SECTARIAN ATTITUDE, AS THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF NORTHER AND CENTRAL EUROPE HAVE. THEY HAVE INCREASINGLY HAD TO SHARE IN PARACTICAL POLTICAL WORK. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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VOTERS HAVE DEMANDED THIS FROM THEM. FIRST THE ITALIAN, AND NOW ALSO THE FRENCH, COMMUNISTS HAVE BEGUN SLOWLY TO DISENGAGE THEMSELVES FROM 'THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT'. BERLINGUER HAS EVEN SAID THAT HE WILL BACK NATO AND THAT THE EC SHOULD BE MADE MORE DEMOCRATIC, E.G., BY DIRECT ELECTIONS. THE ITALIAN COMMUNISTS MOVE TOWARDS 'THE HISTORICAL COMPROMISE', I.E., GOVERNMENT COOPERATION WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS - AND RECONCILIATION WITH THE CATHOLICS. IT IS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE COMMUNIST PARTY CAN SUSTAIN THIS (COOPERATION WITH THE CHRISTAIN DEMOCRATS. THE SITUATION IN ITALY IS NOT COMPARABLE TO THE ONE IN DENMARK WHERE THERE CAN BE NO HISTORICAL COMPROMISE.)...

"PROBABLY WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT OUR PARTY COLLEAGUES IN SOUTHERN EUROPE ARE IN A BETTER POSITION TO EVALUATE

COMMUNIST DEVELOPMENTS THAN WE ARE. IT IS THEIR OPINION THAT PARTICIPAION IN PRACTICAL POLITICAL WORK HAS CHANGED THE ITALIAN AND FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTIES SO MUCH THAT THERE IS A REALISTIC POSSIBILITY OF COOPERATING WITH THEM. SKEPTICISM EXISTS IN THE NORDIC AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES TOWARDS THIS 'NEW STYLE' IN SOUTHERN EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES.

"IT MUST BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE POPULATION OF THE USA TO UNDERSTAND AND ACCEPT THAT ATLANTIC COOPERATION WOULD REMAIN UNWEAKENED, EVEN IF ONE OR MORE NATO COUNTRIES MIGHT INCLUDE COMMUNISTS IN THEIR GOVERNMENTS.

"THIS IS THE BACKGROUND AGAINST WHICH SECRETARY KISSINGER'S STATEMENTS ON HIS VISIT TO COPENHAGEN LAST TUESDAY SHOULD BE SEEN. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES CONTINUE TO RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR MILITARY DEFENSE. (ON THE OTHER HAND, OUR DEMOCRACIES MUST BE GENUINELY GROUNDED ON SOCIAL AND HUMANISTIC VALUES AND CONCERN FOR ONE ANOTHER. SUCH IDEALISM) IS A DECISIVE PREREQUISITE FOR OUR DEFENSE AGAINST DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL ENEMIES....".
DEAN

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